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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a summary of a baseline study of Canadian child welfare services from 1959 to 1977. The nation-wide study relates main trends in the services to a background of demographic, social, legislative and organizational change. Progress of the research project is outlined to illustrate some of the constraints on research in Canada at the present time. Research methodology is described and justified. The only approach that seemed likely to address important policy questions was a basic information gathering exercise. The impact of legislative and social changes on provision of child welfare services was considered in the study. The period since 1959 has been one of unprecedented change for Canada. Child welfare services have expanded and have increased the level of their activities. Trends appear to indicate that the increase in number of admissions and children in care up to 1971 can be explained in terms of both population growth and service expansion. Since 1971, the continued increase in number served and activity level is a reflection of the expansion of service only. Proportionately more children are entering care for reasons of protection and parental neglect. Criteria of neglect recently may have been made more rigorous. In conclusion, social policy issues and questions are raised. (Author/RH)

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Canada's Social Orphans:

A Summary of the Development and Findings of a Baseline Study of Canadian Child Welfare Services 1959-1977 for presentation to members of the University of Manitoba School of Social Work and the Manitoba Association of Social Workers March 1 and 2, 1979

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February 1979

CANADA'S SOCIAL ORPHANS:

A Summary of a Baseline Study of
Canadian Child Welfare Services, 1959-1977

The Development of the Project and the Constraints within which it operated

My study of Canadian child welfare services arose out of an earlier review of personal social services I made in the period 1973-1975, which was both an independent national study and a contribution to a cross-national study of personal social services directed by Professor Alfred Kahn of Columbia University School of Social Work. A number of the topics chosen for the latter study related directly or indirectly to the welfare of children; they were services for abused and battered children, residential services for children in care, day care services, and family planning services.

In the child welfare area it was obvious that foster care and adoption were not being addressed directly as topics, but at the same time the chosen topics provided some insights into the operation of the child welfare services, and raised perhaps more questions than answers. At the prompting of several board members of the Canadian Council on Social Development during the summer of 1975, the Council decided to mount a study of foster care and adoption services. In early 1976 I prepared a proposal for submission to the Welfare Grants Directorate of Health and Welfare Canada, which suggested a review of foster care and adoption services along the lines of the previous study. The study was expected to take about two years and involve visits to all

provinces and territories, interviews with officials at central and local offices, and general data collection on the operation of the child welfare services. The proposal also provided for the formation of a national advisory committee.

Due to a number of competing concurrent proposals from the Council and the limited availability of funds in the Welfare Grants Directorate, the funds requested were drastically reduced during the spring and summer of 1976, and a revised proposal was eventually approved in September 1976[1].

The national advisory committee held its first meeting in late November 1976, and considered a draft outline for data collection prepared by me. It was agreed that the information required for the study was very broad, and might not always be available in each province and territory. The quality of the data was often also questionable. The central objective of the study was also criticized by committee members partly on the grounds of its breadth, the quality of the available data, and the validity of any conclusions that might be drawn from the study, and partly on the grounds that the available resources of money, manpower and time were not adequate. A more fundamental criticism was directed at the focus of the study. Was a review likely to provide answers to such critical policy questions as 'why' and 'how' children come into care, and 'what' happens to them in care.

In essence these were the same questions raised by the earlier review.

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[1]A dispute between the Minister of Health and Welfare, Mr. Lalonde, and the Executive Director, Mr. Baetz, contributed to some of the delay in approval of both this and the other project approvals.

But again the absence of foster care and adoption from the earlier work meant there were gaps in the national picture available, and there was no other national material available which seemed likely to remedy the deficiency.

During subsequent weeks the outline for data collection was made more comprehensive by including suggestions of members of the advisory committee; at the same time it was re-titled "outline of relevant concerns" in recognition that comparable data would not be available in all parts of Canada. A small sub-committee of the Council's Program Planning Committee then considered in early 1977 some of the options open for pursuing the study. One proposal was to look only at foster care and/or adoption on the ground that these were discrete topics. Other options equally involved a departure from the original conception for the study. The separate roles of child welfare workers, foster parents and so on could be studied. The views of children in care could also be elicited. Finally the 'how', 'why' and 'what' questions could be addressed.

All of these alternatives would have involved not only new research designs, but also a search for more research funds, and the lapse of more time. Another crucial difference entailed would have been the 'locus' where the research would have to take place. In effect a variety of case studies would have to be mounted at the local level in different parts of Canada. There would then be the same problem of generalizing findings to the national level.

It might be argued that in areas of provincial jurisdiction there is no justification for national studies. This argument can be countered in several ways. There is a national interest in the welfare of children; there is federal cost-sharing of child welfare services; there is considerable movement

of children across provincial borders and this is relevant to child welfare as to other public services such as education and health. There remains a problem however about the aggregation of provincial data at the national level. Is provincial child welfare data comparable?

The problem of comparability was experienced in the cross-national study of services in eight countries. The general conclusion reached in that study was that both points of view are valid, the cross-national and the national perspective; what may be termed the bird's eye view, and the worm's eye view. As long as a real effort is made at both levels to identify the same population, essential similarities and differences can be identified provided sufficient information is available on the main variables involved. The quality of the information is also a relevant consideration.

In effect a study of Canadian child welfare services is a cross-national study. Moreover historical and contemporary linkages between provinces do mean that child welfare legislations and delivery systems have a great deal of similarity, and the federal involvement through the cost-sharing legislation and information sharing of the Canada Assistance plan provides further cause for supposing that a national perspective on the child welfare services can be assembled.

It was therefore decided to proceed with the study as originally conceived with the recognition that this was in effect a baseline study, an information gathering exercise, which might be a prelude to, or a basis for, further more incisive, more local, studies of the 'how', 'why' and 'what' questions. It was not intended therefore that the baseline study should reach

definitive conclusions or make firm policy recommendations. The study should seek to identify and interpret significant trends and developments; it should not attempt to evaluate the child welfare services.

These modified ideas about the study's objectives formed the basis of a report on the first six month's work made to the Welfare Grants Directorate in March 1977 and constituted a revised submission for continuing work during the fiscal year 1977/78. Other work commitments on the part of the project director meant that almost half of the funds granted for the year 1976/77 were not spent.

The revised submission was approved in early May 1977, and a research assistant was hired and commenced work later in the same month. Grants made to the Canadian Council on Social Development by the Welfare Grants Directorate normally called for a financial commitment by the Council to a given project in amounts of similar magnitude. After a period of about two months of familiarizing herself with the study, the research assistant commenced a round of visits to child welfare officials and other interested parties in August 1977 which continued until late October 1977.

The object of these visits was information gathering with both a historical and a contemporary dimension. Attempts were made to complete and understand historical series of statistics on the operation of the child welfare services. At the same time the present arrangements for the organization and delivery of the services were identified. Officials in both central and local offices were interviewed, and contact was established with foster parent associations.

This first round of visits by the research assistant followed an earlier series of visits by the project director to several provinces in early 1976 when the project was first being developed. On reviewing the information gathered gaps in statistical series were identified as well as in some of the factual material on the operation of the services. A second round of visits, which had been anticipated in the original research proposal, was commenced in late 1977 and completed in early 1978. An application to vary the approval budget then had to be made to the Welfare Grants Directorate, which in effect meant that a second meeting of the advisory committee originally proposed for March 1978 had to be indefinitely postponed.

The research assistant's contract expired at the end of March 1978, but was extended for a few weeks in the new fiscal year. The variation in the 1977/78 budget was approved, and a small amount of money granted for continued research assistance. The research assistant by this time had another job, but agreed to continue work on the study on a part-time basis; this she did until the late summer of 1978.

The project director left the Council at the end of June 1978, but undertook to complete the report on the study in his own time. The variation in the project approval in effect meant that the new deadline for the project was March 1979; this would allow for some of the expenditures on editing, translating and printing to be covered.

This outline of the progress of the project is intended to illustrate some of the constraints within which a fairly straightforward research project has to be undertaken in Canada at the present time. The organizational setting

or auspices within which the study was undertaken is also a factor or constraint, which played a large part in how the project was started and conducted.

Questions should I think be raised about the type of policy related research which can be undertaken at the national level in Canada. There is the crucial question of the auspices under which policy research can be mounted. The ideological bias of research organizations requires more explicit attention from the research consuming public. The source of funds for research in the policy area also requires scrutiny. The feasibility of mounting particular types of policy research within Canada is a subject, that should probably be examined by some of the learned societies concerned with the social sciences. Access to government information on the operation of public services is often very limited, and government reporting on their own activities is often grossly inadequate.

In my work at the Canadian Council on Social Development, I felt my main responsibility was to make more widely known the information I was able to obtain about the social services across Canada. It is though highly necessary that scholars across the country begin to question perhaps more incisively than I was able to what governments are doing, and what effect social policies, explicit or implicit, are having. We need I believe a stronger critical tradition in the social policy field. There is often much local protest about government policies, but usually a lack of substantive research findings to support the protest.

Methodology

The decision to pursue the research in the form originally envisaged was made in the light of an absence at the national level of a clear picture

of how child welfare services were being provided, of the magnitude of the child welfare services, of which children were being served, and which were not. It was also not clear whether some provincial services were better than those in other provinces, and whether one system of service provision differed greatly in its consequences than another did. Alternative legislative arrangements and service structures might be expected to produce different results. The need for child welfare services might be viewed differently in different jurisdictions but the same might hold true for different participants within the same province. Need in any case might have different dimensions and might change over time depending on changing social and demographic circumstances. Resource constraints might differ from time to time, and place to place. Demand for child welfare services might be determined entirely by the availability of services rather than by any criterion of need. If this were so what were the obstacles to access and what determined supply? How could a system of priorities be drawn up for the child welfare services?

All of these questions warrant answers, yet the means for supplying the required information are not readily available. Nonetheless attempts to improve the information base might go some way towards at least asking these important policy questions, if not answering them. In any case putting the child welfare services within a broader social and organizational context might go some way towards assessing their importance and whether alternative social policies might be preferable.

Given the relative absence of information at the national level about the operation of the child welfare services, and given the breadth of issues and the number of different jurisdictions involved, the only approach that

seemed likely to bring one close to even asking the important policy questions was a basic information gathering exercise which might provide both a contemporary and a historical picture of the services, and of broad trends within the services. There were obviously many problems in adopting this method of proceeding. The information was not always readily available or accessible at either the national or provincial levels. There was a problem of how historical to make the study; how far back in the history of the services should one go and how far back was comparable data or information available. How much reliance should one place on provincial statistics?

The time span ultimately chosen reflects some of the answers to these questions. Relatively full provincial reports or records were obtained for all provinces from the late 1950s or early 1960s. A number of provincial social service systems were organized, or reorganized during these same years. Many provinces reported their efforts to put child welfare statistics on a more systematic and consistent footing during the early 1960s. The demand for child welfare services was reported to be rising sharply during the early 1960s, and official concern was expressed both about the rising number of illegitimate births and the growing number of adolescents in care. Several provinces also reported serious deficiencies in their services due to a lack of resources, finance, personnel, staff, foster parents and adoption applicants.

The establishment of the federal, cost-sharing, Canada Assistance Plan in 1966, provided a watershed against which trends and development in the child welfare services could be judged. The late 1960s saw further important legislative and social changes, which provide at least a background against which to look at the child welfare services. The precise effect any of these changes may have had on the child welfare services is really one of the questions

for consideration in the study.

The Demographic and Social Framework

Why were the child welfare services under pressure in the early 1960s? The major reason is almost certainly demographic. The number of births reached a peak of 479,000 in 1959, a figure never previously reached. The post-war baby boom was really part of the long run climb in the number of live births. After 1959 there was a steady decline to a low of 343,000 in 1974. Two related aspects of the post-war increase in births combined to place additional pressure on the child welfare services in the early 1960s. Many of the post-war babies were entering their teens, and a growing number of new babies were illegitimate. Despite the overall decline in live births, the number of illegitimate births continued to climb until 1970, and even now they are about fifty per cent higher than they were in 1959.

Since the early 1960s there has been a steady decline in the infant mortality rate in the total Canadian population, aud a more marked decline in the rate for registered or status Indians and Inuit. The natural increase in the registered Indian and Inuit populations has declined since the early 1960s, but is still higher than for the total Canadian population. The same trend probably holds true for all native peoples.

The major social changes since 1959 include continued high immigration rates. Of the total 7.5 million increase in the population in the period 1951-1971, 1.8 million is ascribable to immigration, 1.1 million between 1951 and 1961, and 0.7 between 1961-1971. By any token Canada was a fast growing country.

During the 1960s pressures grew to reform the divorce laws and to make contraceptive information and devices available; there was also pressure to make therapeutic abortions legally available. Divorce laws were made more permissive in 1968, and the Criminal Code was amended in 1969 to make the provision of contraceptive information and devices legal, and to make the performance of therapeutic abortions legal. A full explanation of why these changes in social policy occurred when they did is not possible within this paper. Changes in these areas were occurring in other western countries. Moreover advances in medical science and technology made possible improved contraceptive practice and safer abortion techniques. Changes in the status of women in Canada and in other western societies were probably a factor contributing to these other social changes.

The number of women in the labour force doubled in the period 1961 to 1975 from 1.7 million to 3.5 million, or as a percentage of the total labour force from 26.7 per cent to 35.1 per cent, or as a percentage of all women aged 14 years and over from 28.7 per cent to 40.9 per cent. While the rate for single women increased from 51.4 to 51.9 per cent, the rate for married women rose from 20.8 to 38.4 per cent, and for other (that is those divorced or widowed) women from 27.4 to 30.4. By 19.3 the labour participation rate for women aged 20-54 with children under the age of 16 was 35 per cent, and of these 42 per cent of women with only full-time school children were in the labour force. The comparable figures for 1967 were 21 percent and 28 per cent respectively. In 1973, 29 per cent of women with only pre-school children were working, compared with 19 per cent in 1967. In 1973, 26 per cent of women with school and pre-school children were working compared with 15 per cent in 1967.

All of these changes have brought other changes in their train during the 1970s. Spaces in day care centres grew from 17,391 in 1971 to 83,520 in 1976 (81,651 in 1977). The initial effect of the change in the divorce law was a doubling in the number of divorces in one year, 11,343 in 1968 and 26,093 in 1969. By 1975 the number of divorces was close to 51,000, and though the average number of children involved in each divorce remained roughly the same at 1.1 or 1.2 (or 2.1 or 2.0 for those divorces actually involving children), the total number of children affected by divorces rose from 32,454 in 1970 to 59,215 in 1975.

The marriage rate reached a post-war low figure of 7 per 1,000 of the population in the early 1960s, but rose to 9 per 1,000 in the early 1970s. However a growing proportion of marriages involved people previously divorced, 3.9 per cent of men and women marrying in 1959 and 12.0 per cent of men and 10.8 per cent of women in 1975.

My own conclusion about the period since 1959 is that it has been one of unprecedented change for Canada, and the fact that the changes are mirrored in other countries does nothing to alter the social significance of these changes in Canada. It is I believe unwise to assume that these changes have necessarily had harmful consequences for children. Nor should we automatically assume that children are more disturbed today than they were twenty years ago. The child welfare services have themselves expanded, and the level of their activities has increased. What we have then in a study of the child welfare services is the task of trying to sort out some of the main trends or developments in the services against a background of demographic, social, legislative and organizational change.

The Child Welfare Services in a Period of Change

The child welfare services at the end of the 1950s were fairly well developed and distributed in most provinces. Serious deficiencies were recognized by the provinces themselves in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Quebec. In the rest of Canada the basic structure of services was in place, but the level of services and resources was acknowledged by provincial officials to be too low. From Ontario west, native children were probably being under-served. Generally there was a problem of getting enough adoption applicants, especially for Roman Catholic and native children. The range of placement-resources was limited. The need for small group homes and assessment facilities was widely acknowledged. Staffing levels in some provinces were reported to be insufficient for the performance of statutory duties, and in other provinces did not permit preventive or protective work to be undertaken.

Some improvement in these different areas occurred during the early 1960s, but was insufficient to meet the growing demand for services which came from more illegitimate children being born and relinquished for adoption, and from more children already in care reaching adolescence. It is easy to see that the pressures were such that it was a question of trying to meet the most urgent needs first.

Newfoundland in the early sixties, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick in the mid-sixties, and Quebec in the early seventies moved towards setting up on a more systematic basis service delivery systems, and this has been an ongoing procedure both for these provinces and the others as well. Ontario with its fairly good geographic distribution of fifty or so children's aid societies increased its total number of approved staffing positions by 56 per cent between

1966 and 1976, a period when the number of children under the age of 15 fell by 7.3 per cent. Other provinces, too, greatly increased their staffing complement.

The creation of the federal Canada Assistance Plan provided the impetus for some of this growth in services. But equally deficiencies in child welfare services and in other services provided the justification and the rationale for the establishment of the federal cost-shared legislation. It was probably because the implementation of the Canada Assistance Plan was in many ways a catching up exercise, and because its benefits were technically restricted to people in economic need, that the need for further improvement in service provisions was already recognized by federal and provincial officials in the late 1960s.

Throughout the late 1960s the pressure of more children needing services, and of more children being admitted to care, continued to grow. Ways of stemming this growth were sought. It was not uncommon in my experience to hear of social workers encouraging unmarried mothers to keep their babies; whether this practice was ever an acknowledged part of official policy would be hard to determine, but the emphasis on prevention, on keeping children out of care certainly was. It is easy to see why. Admissions to care more than doubled between 1959/60 and 1969/70 from about 19,800 to 42,000. The number of children in care at the end of each fiscal year went from about 52,000 in 1959/60 to 98,000 in 1969/70.

I believe the two main determinants of this rise in numbers were demographic. The total child population in the under 15 year group reached its highest point in 1966, 6.6 million children, and in the under 20 year group in 1969 with 8.5 million children and young people. Illegitimate births rose

from 20,200 in 1959 to 35.600 in 1970. As a proportion of all admissions to care children of unmarried parents reached their highest point in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Whether these children were relinquished directly for adoption or admitted for protection is not always possible to determine from the available provincial data.

Since the early 1970s the proportion of admissions involving children of unmarried parents has fallen and consequently the proportion of children admitted for reasons of protection or neglect has risen. At the same time the number of admissions looked at over the space of 15 to 20 years has steadily risen, 23,600 in 1961/62, 33,600 in 1966/67, 35,100 in 1971/72 and 37,600 in 1976/77. The same trend holds true in terms of the proportion of the relevant age groups involved.

Admissions to Care as a Percentage of the Child Population Aged 0-14 and 0-19 years inclusive in 1961/62, 1966/67, 1971/72 and 1976/77 (exclusive of the North West Territories and Yukon)

	1961/62	1966/67	1971/72	1976/77
% of 1-14 years group admitted	0.38	0.51	0.55	0.64
% of 0-19 years group admitted	0.31	0.40	0.41	0.46

Basically what these trends appear to mean is that while the increase in number of admissions and children in care up to 1971 can be explained in terms of population growth and service expansion, since then continued increase in number and activities is a reflection of service expansion and a change in service emphasis with proportionately more children entering care for reasons of protection and parental neglect.

What is hard to determine is whether neglected children were relatively underserved prior to 1970 or 1971, and whether the decline in the number of children relinquished for adoption has enabled the child welfare services to provide more attention to neglected children. Alternatively it could be argued that there are increasing numbers of neglected children in the general population. I do not believe we have any firm evidence to support the latter hypothesis, and in any case the decline in the total child population would mitigate against this trend in terms of numbers.

Changes in the age structure of the child population might however mean that more older children were needing care. The age distribution of children in care in 1976/77 more closely resembles that in the general child population, than it did in 1961/62, 1966/67 and 1971/72, when children under the age of five and especially those relinquished for adoption served to skew the age distribution downwards. There are therefore demographic reasons for more older children being in care than in earlier years. There are also some administrative reasons in that child welfare services have tended to acquire responsibility for delinquent children who might previously have been cared for under separate auspices. I do not however think that administrative changes are alone responsible for the change in age distribution or for the increased level of activity. I think myself that the child welfare services have grown in size, and as the pressures to provide adoption services have receded, the services have turned increasingly towards areas of work previously considered to be neglected, namely prevention and protection services. One of the paradoxical consequences of this change would seem to be that the services are now in touch with a wider range of children in their own homes, and that more children are admitted to

care on a planned basis for short periods of time.

Indices of activity would seem to support this contention, since discharges have closely matched admissions, and the total number of children in care at one time has tended to fall. As a proportion though of the relevant age groups, children in care were at about the same level in 1976/77 as they were in 1966/67, but the make-up of the in-care group was different in terms of age group and reason for being in care. About a third of children in care in 1966/67 were under the age of six compared with a fifth or less in 1976/77. Between a third and a half of children admitted to care in 1966/67 were children of unmarried parents, and children discharged from care by reason of adoption roughly matched these proportions. In 1976/77 between a fifth and a third of children admitted to care were relinquished for adoption, and the same proportions hold for discharges.

Obviously the proportions differ from province to province, and circumstances in different provinces also differ. But the trends appear sufficiently consistent to permit these generalizations to be made. The age at which children are placed for adoption or have their adoptions completed has tended to rise, and again is a partial reflection of the changed composition of the in-care population. Changes in the nature of adoption however reflect wider social changes, and provide some explanation for these apparent changes in the child care population.

The number of completed adoptions in the period 1959/60 to 1976/77 followed the same pattern as the number of illegitimate births or the number of children in care. There were 12,800 in 1959/60, 17,100 in 1966/67, 20,500

in 1970/71, and 16,200 in 1976/77. The provinces are generally involved in fewer than half of all adoption placements or completions now. Adoptions by relatives, usually parents or stepparents, account for a majority of adoptions now. The proportion of legitimate children adopted has also tended to rise in recent years. In Quebec and Nova Scotia, for example, legitimate children accounted for a quarter of completed adoptions in 1976/77.

Two factors appear to be affecting trends in adoption, the increased tendency for unmarried mothers to keep their babies and the rise in the number of divorces and remarriages, and both of these factors also mean that children are likely to be older at the time of adoption. In British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Nova Scotia, whereas up to 1971/72, the child welfare services were involved in at least two-thirds of adoption placements, by 1976/77 they were only involved in between 40 and 50 per cent of placements. But while fewer unmarried mothers have relinquished their babies for adoption in recent years, it is likely that a high proportion of these mothers have always been strongly motivated to keep their babies. Improvement in social assistance rates and perhaps greater willingness to live in common-law arrangements have permitted more unmarried mothers to keep their babies. There are many factors intertwined in this situation, which warrant much further investigation.

Some Outstanding Policy Questions

Social policies in this area appear to have many contradictory elements. Babies kept by their unmarried mothers are likely to be at some social and material disadvantage. Social assistance rates are sufficient to enable mothers to keep their children, but not sufficient to permit them to care for them

really well. Support services such as day care services are not in sufficiently good supply to overcome some of the problems faced by these mothers and their children.

The child welfare services too are in an ambiguous position. Their resources are in sufficiently short supply that they will be reluctant to take children into care. Should they then encourage unmarried mothers to keep their babies, and should they continue this policy even when children appear to be neglected? On the other hand with an abundance of adoption applicants, should they encourage unmarried mothers to relinquish their babies, so that they can be placed in "good" homes?

These moral dilemmas abound in child welfare work. Social workers, like professionals in other fields, often seek to resolve their dilemmas by applying conventional wisdom or rules of thumb, but while a routinized approach may reduce the anxiety inherent in some stressful situations, it is not necessarily useful for making the right decisions.

In my study I have tried to identify some of the main trends in the child welfare services during the last twenty years. There are some constant elements in the services, but there have also been some major changes, which appear to reflect wider social changes. While I have tried to interpret the trends, I have not attempted to evaluate the services. But in a broader social context there are some nagging questions, which need answers. If the child welfare services are increasingly in contact with neglected children, what does this mean? Whose definition of neglect is being used? Because child welfare services expanded after 1966, what happens now the child population is declining?

Have children in need in the past been ignored or neglected by the child welfare services, because there were more pressing demands for services? Or are criteria of neglect now being made more rigorous?

I have neglected in this paper the special case of native children who represent something like 25 per cent of all children in care in Canada. But native children serve to throw light on the wider issues of alternatives to child welfare services. I have not discussed foster care or residential care, but they represent the bulk of all placement resources for the child welfare services.

I would try to justify some of my reluctance to discuss some of these specialist child welfare issues not simply on the grounds of a lack of time, but rather on the grounds that we must set the child welfare services in a wider societal setting. We should not ignore the factors that place some children especially at risk of neglect, poor health and abuse. While it is true that infant mortality rates among native children have improved in the last two or three decades, to what end is this improvement, if the children thus surviving infancy are left to live in poor housing, receive poor nutrition and lack the amenities other Canadian children enjoy? Similarly why should life be made so tough for single parents, men and women, and their children? It makes no social or economic sense.

I have reviewed elsewhere the advances made in the personal social services field, since the Canada Assistance Plan was introduced. There have been improvements since 1966, but we are still left with a residual approach to these services and to income assistance. There are those today who advocate

fewer universal programs, and more selectivity. We already have selectivity under the Canada Assistance Plan, but the figures for recipients and for expenditures suggest that selectivity has meant a perpetuation of poverty rather than its eradication. I have suggested that the child welfare services reflect broader social trends, and it is at this broader societal level that some of the solutions for poverty and child neglect should be sought.